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The Shape of Things

SECRETARY ACHESON'S CHOICE OF WORDS IS disturbing. He uses the phrase "total diplomacy" as a present-day equivalent of "total war." What he says it means is to contain the Russians wherever they threaten to advance, counter every thrust, and use all the resources at our disposal to defeat their purpose, which he describes as "a new brand of expansion . . . imperialism second to none." Total diplomacy also means asking other nations only "whether they are determined to protect their independence against Communist aggression" without worrying whether or not they suit us politically. Mr. Acheson used China to illustrate that point. His exact words are worth quoting:

> The Communists took over in China at a ridiculously small cost. What they did was to invite some Chinese leaders who were dissatisfied with the way things were going in their country to come to Moscow. There they thoroughly indoctrinated them so that they returned to China prepared to resort to any means whatsoever to establish Communist control. They were completely subservient to the Moscow regime.

This crisply misleading comment seems to us to expose both the weakness and the danger of Mr. Acheson's total-diplomacy doctrine. Does he really want Americans to think that is what happened in China? If so, he had better recall and burn every copy of his department's excellent White Paper, which set forth in all its tragic intricacy the social, economic, and political breakdown that led to the Communist victory. To judge by this sample, Mr. Acheson's idea is to sell the cold war to the American people in tabloid form, inventing facts to fit the thesis and suppressing the rest. We can tell him at the start that the method won't work. Russians may believe what they are told; Americans want to be shown. Also they are leery of the word "total"; it can be too easily stretched to totalitarian.

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THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE VATICAN HAS come to be accepted as a state even in this country is shown by President Truman's decision—not yet announced but definitely reported by persons who have recently seen him—to appoint a successor to Myron C. Taylor. Several times since the end of the war Mr. Truman has assured Protestant leaders that he regarded the Vatican mission as a temporary war-time expedient which should not be continued. He seemed to take the traditional American view, lately reaffirmed by the Federal Council of Churches, that diplomatic relations with the Vatican, "whether openly recognized or camouflaged under some such title as 'personal representative of the President,' confers on one church a special status, not held by other churches, in relation to government." But Roman Catholic and State Department pressures apparently have caused a shift. Mr. Truman is reported by Robert S. Allen to have told a group of inquiring Congressmen last week that "times are no less trying now [than in 1940], and I think it would be very wise for us to continue this mission." It is assumed that he will again send a "personal" envoy, since the establishment of diplomatic relations would require an act of Congress—and start a bitter fight. But recent dispatches from Rome indicate that the Holy See is tired of being dealt with in this informal fashion. On February 23 Cyrus L. Sulzberger reported in the New York *Times* that while the Vatican would be "more than pleased" to receive a permanent diplomatic representative, it is not anxious for another temporary personal one. This story was repeated by Camille M. Cianfarra on March 3. But in spite of the encouragement of the cold war and the presence of good friends in and around the White House, we hardly believe the Vatican will make a stand on this ground. More likely, its bid for full diplomatic recognition is a bargaining point which it can graciously surrender when the President backs down and names a successor to Mr. Taylor.

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TECHNICALLY, KING LEOPOLD III WON A modest victory in Belgium's national "consultation" last Sunday. Politically, he suffered a defeat. Even M. de Vleeschauer, Minister of the Interior and Leopold's staunchest promoter, could not hide his disappointment over the meagre majority, 57.8 per cent of the votes cast. The King had promised to abdicate in favor of his son, Prince Baudouin, if he obtained less than 55 per cent; it is not yet known what he will do in view of the small margin by which that figure was exceeded. He and his advisers certainly realize that it is not only the bare figures but the distribution of votes that count. Leopold's support came predominantly from the Flemish area and from rural districts where the influence of the local clergy, supporting the King on direct orders from the Vatican, could be fully exercised. Brussels, the politi-

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cal heart of the country, voted against him. He was overwhelmingly rejected in the industrial centers, where the workers were almost unanimously in opposition, their attitude bluntly summarized in a Socialist poster depicting Leopold playing golf in Switzerland and taking tea with Hitler while the heroic Belgian Resistance fought the Nazi occupation. The referendum was a moral victory for Belgian democracy and a slap at the policy—today too much the fashion all over Europe—of whitewashing collaborationists.

*

SERETSE KHAMA, OXFORD-EDUCATED CHIEF of the Bamangwato tribe in the British protectorate of Bechuanaland, has been exiled for five years for daring to marry a white girl. The order, whose legality has been challenged, was served on the young African—after he had come to London at the request of the British government—by P. C. Gordon-Walker, the new Secretary for Commonwealth Relations. Still more high-handed was Mr. Gordon-Walker's decision to suspend "indirect rule" in the Bamangwato area, which is now to be governed by British officials. Undeniably Seretse's wedding eighteen months ago created a difficult political situation. His uncle, Tshekedi Khama, who had served as regent during his minority, protested vigorously and demanded his abdication. But Seretse was accepted by a majority of the tribe, and last August he returned with his wife to Serowe, capital of the Bamangwato reserve. Thereupon Tshekedi and some of the older sub-chiefs left the territory. It is doubtful whether this tribal dispute is the real cause of the British government's action. Almost certainly a much more potent part was played by the protests of the race-conscious white governments of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The latter, which has long desired to incorporate the Bechuanaland enclave in its own territory, was particularly outraged by this example of miscegenation, a "crime" which it punishes by death. Mr. Gordon-Walker and his colleagues will find, however, that they have appeased the bigoted white African settlers at the cost of stirring up trouble throughout the colonial empire. Colored people everywhere will regard their action as a betrayal of Labor ideals. And the arbitrary suspension of "indirect rule," a feature in the administration of many British colonies, is calculated to arouse fear and anger from Jamaica to Uganda. No wonder members of all British parties are protesting against what Mr. Churchill has called "a very discreditable transaction."

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IRVING DAVID FOX WAS, UNTIL RECENTLY, a teaching assistant in the Department of Physics at the University of California, whose regents have demanded a non-Communist oath as a prerequisite for employment by the university. Last fall Mr. Fox signed

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the oath, which had been attached to faculty contracts for 1949-50. On September 27 he was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee and refused on constitutional grounds to answer certain questions about his past political beliefs. Three days later John Francis Neylan, chief counsel for the Hearst interests and a member of the Board of Regents, publicly questioned California's President Sproul about Mr. Fox's status. Dr. Sproul subsequently interviewed Mr. Fox, who explained that he had been interested in communism and had participated in some Communist activities but had never been a member of the party. Dr. Sproul indicated that the physicist's teaching and academic record were satisfactory and recommended that he appear in person at the next meeting of the regents. When Mr. Fox did so, on December 16, Mr. Neylan opened the session by reading large sections of Mr. Fox's testimony in Washington. Mr. Fox repeated the statement he had made to Dr. Sproul. He declared that at no time had he engaged in espionage or other disloyal acts. After further questions about his union activities, his associates, and his attorney, he was excused, while the regents met in executive session. Fifteen minutes later he was handed a copy of a press release from which he learned that he did not "meet the minimum requirements for membership on the faculty." So much for loyalty oaths. Unless the regents back down, any of Mr. Fox's former colleagues who fail to sign their oaths by April 30 will be fired. If the regents persist, however, they may have to find themselves a new faculty. Last week, 900 members of the university's Academic Senate—while denouncing communism—unanimously voted to refuse to kowtow to the degrading order.

*

ONCE AGAIN, AN ATTEMPT TO PASS A BILL providing federal aid to the schools appears doomed to reinterment in the House Labor Committee's deep-freeze, there to await still another session of Congress. Late last week, after gingerly probing for over a month the issues of aid for parochial-school students, of equal assistance for Negroes and whites, and of rich versus poor states, the committee was preparing to vote on an amendment-battered compromise which has not even the approval of its architects. Members of the committee who believed in a strong wall of separation between church and state were angry because of the rejection of amendments confining aid to the public schools, repeatedly offered by Representative Jacobs (a Roman Catholic), Representative Barden, and others. Those who wanted to break down the wall were disgruntled because the committee had also refused to accept Representative Kennedy's amendment extending federal assistance to cover bus service for non-public-school children. The version finally produced, patterned after the Taft bill passed last year in the Senate, leaves the question of parochial-school aid to the states, ignoring the principle involved. Representative Powell succeeded in inserting a provision barring discrimination against Negro students and helping them indirectly by raising the floor under grants to "needy" states; this displeased some of the Southerners, including Mr. Barden. Representative Nixon criticized the President for not pushing the bill—yet three days earlier Mr. Truman was authoritatively reported to have read the riot act to House Democratic leaders for stalling on it. Even if the bill is reported out this week, it is obvious that the delays will continue until our lawmakers find the courage to face up to the church-state problem. Perhaps they can take courage from the nation's leading educators, who, meeting recently in Atlantic City, expressed their opposition to federal support of parochial schools by a vote of 7,000 to 2!

McCarthy's Blunderbuss

SENATOR McCARTHY is on the loose with a blunderbuss. If he succeeds in bringing down just one authentic specimen of a Communist in the State Department—he started out by saying there were fifty-seven card-holding comrades in that agency—he will be sitting pretty, and the Republican Party will have some fine fuel to fire their election campaign. If he fails to bag any game at all, the G. O. P. will take no responsibility for the fiasco and McCarthy himself will have suffered no serious loss, his reputation as a statesman being negligible to begin with.

The G. O. P. does well to take a cagy attitude with the wild man from Wisconsin. He has already been forced to retreat a good distance from his original position and has maneuvered himself into an uncomfortable box. As this is written, he is still refusing to turn over to an investigating subcommittee of his fellow-Senators the information which he boasts of having in his possession, while at the same time he damns the State Department for refusing to turn over its files to this same body. He has attacked Senators Tydings and McMahon in an unprecedented manner for allegedly demanding the sources of his information, which they did not do, though the fact is that any employee of the department who did give him access to the files was clearly insubordinate and perhaps guilty of a violation of law.

The Senator's conduct before his own colleagues and his stubborn refusal to produce evidence of his charges give rise to a deep suspicion. He says he is withholding his material until the President releases department files to Congress, but if the President, following precedent, refuses to produce those files, McCarthy could continue to make loose charges while keeping the "evidence" to himself. Is that what he is counting on?

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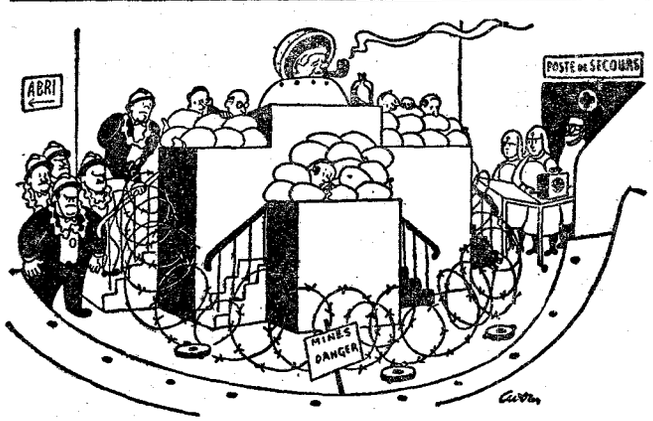
Certainly the information he has graciously released so far reinforces this suspicion. From the lecture platform he has dropped a few names which, as we reported a few weeks ago, were complete duds, not one of them living up to the advance billing. His Case "Number Nine" was exploded when the subject himself came forward and demonstrated the complete emptiness of the charge. This was David Lloyd, a speech writer on the White House staff, whose only connection with communism is that a great-aunt long ago allowed her name to be used as an officer of the dummy corporation which theoretically owned the *Daily Worker*, and that for a brief time in the thirties he patronized the Washington Book Shop.

So far McCarthy has given the subcommittee only one name, and that one he should have good cause to regret. Judge Dorothy Kenyon can be a formidable foe, as she immediately demonstrated when, denying she had ever had anything to do with Communist fronts, she branded McCarthy "an unmitigated liar" and demanded a hearing. The Senator has not dared to suggest that Miss Kenyon carries a party card but only that over the years she belonged to various front organizations, some of which included on their letterheads the names of several highly respected gentlemen still in the United States Senate. Actually Dorothy Kenyon never was in the State Department at all, her official capacity having been, until recently, that of a delegate to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. In this post she distinguished herself for the vigor with which she clashed with the Soviet delegate on matters of policy. Neither Senator McCarthy's revelations to date nor his career in general warrant the country in taking his "evidence" on faith. He was censured less than a year ago by the Wisconsin Supreme Court for violating his oath as an attorney, and both state and federal income-tax authorities had such trouble with his delinquencies that the Madison *Capital Times* raised the question of "representation without taxation."



"THE SESSION WILL COME TO ORDER . . ."

A cartoon comment in the Paris *Franc-Tireur* on the Communist-provoked riots in the Chamber of Deputies.

Liberals and Electoral Reform

GENERATIONS of liberals have bewailed the pointless way in which we elect our Presidents. Pointless because it serves the purpose neither of those who drew up the Constitution nor of those who sought informally to democratize the process. The framers of the Constitution had in mind a highly indirect method whereby qualified voters would choose electors, who, in the exercise of their own judgment, would select a President and Vice-President. With the rise of parties, as Charles Beard put it, "the deliberative, judicial, nonpartisan system" was overthrown in practice, the electors becoming mere figureheads acting automatically on behalf of the party that won a majority in their respective states. Essentially a democratic step, this improvisation has nevertheless left us saddled with an anachronism in the form of a useless Electoral College and a grossly unfair weighting of votes. With a mere plurality of the popular vote giving a party all a state's electors, as many as 49 per cent of that state's voters may find their ballots completely ignored in the electoral count. A Democratic vote is meaningless in Vermont, a Republican vote senseless in Alabama.

The proposed Lodge-Gossett amendment, passed by the Senate and now bottled up in the Rules Committee of the House, is offered as the long-awaited corrective. It would abolish the Electoral College, but, leaving the electoral totals of the states intact—that is, one for each Representative and Senator in the Congress—it would apportion these on the basis of the popular vote. If the Republicans, for example, got 45 per cent of the vote in Kentucky, they would get 45 per cent of the state's 11 electoral votes, or 4.95 votes. Under the present system they would be ignored in the Electoral College, with all eleven Kentucky votes going to the Democrats.

On the face of things, this plan seems so fair, so close an approximation of a direct popular vote, that one may wonder why liberals should be divided on the question. Yet they are, and while we tend to favor the amendment, we are not blind to the argument of its opponents, who range from Senator Taft to Charles La Follette, national director of Americans for Democratic Action. Basically this is that under the new arrangement the Republicans would find themselves at an almost impossible disadvantage and that the Democratic Party would be almost hopelessly dominated by its Southern wing, with the Dixiecrats riding high in the saddle. Certainly it is true that most Republicans opposed the amendment in the Senate. It is equally true that, except for Byrd and Robertson of Virginia, the Southern

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Democrats were for it to a man and waged the hardest fight in its behalf.

The reasoning of the opposition is that while the all but solid South would continue to produce overwhelming electoral blocs for the Democrats, the Republicans would lose heavily in those Northern states which they normally carry by small margins. It is pointed out that five Northern and Western states—California, Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, and Wisconsin—gave Truman 100 of the 114 electoral votes by which he won in 1948. Had the Lodge-Gossett plan been in operation, those same five states would have yielded him a margin of exactly 1.1 electoral votes. At the same time the Southern states would have given him a margin of 31.6 even without the Thurmond vote and 70 if that freakish deviation had not occurred. With this extraordinarily disproportionate power, it is argued, the Dixiecrats would be in a position to dictate platform and candidates to the Democrats, and the country would be in their power during a most dangerous period in world history.

This is admittedly a strong case—stronger for our money than the pro-amendment argument that the country is now at the mercy of minority groups in the North which by making themselves a balance of power can swing pivotal electoral blocs to one party or another in return for favors. Representative Gossett makes much of this point, and he leaves no doubt as to the nature of these groups—Negroes, organized labor, and "with all due deference to our many fine Jewish citizens, they constitute a third group."

Yet, on balance, we believe that the greater merit lies in the case for the change. Gossett and his fellow-Dixiecrats may have, from our point of view, the worst of motives. But theirs is the short view and those liberals who oppose the amendment allow themselves, as a reaction, to take the same short view. It is quite possible that the immediate consequence of the change would be to give the Dixiecrats a shot in the arm, but we are inclined to think the effect would be superficial and short-lived, while the long-range result would be a marked advance in democracy and good sense.

Liberal opponents of the measure appear to take an extremely static view. The South under the pressure of industrialization is already changing rapidly, and the Lodge-Gossett amendment, by making minority votes count, would provide just the incentive needed to break down the one-party system that now afflicts that region. As for enhanced Dixiecrat power within the Democratic Party, we see no reason why these Confederate remnants could not be told off at least as effectively under the new plan as they are now. Where else could they go? If they formed a new party, they would cut themselves off from patronage and from the last vestige of national power. If they merged with the Republicans, then by that very act they would reduce those electoral margins which were the source of their supposed strength. And in either case they would force a realignment of American party politics which many consider long overdue.

Nor do we take too seriously Republican fears that the amendment would intrench the Democrats in something very like permanent control, a condition which we would no more care to see than permanent control by any other one party. While the G. O. P. would lose electoral votes in states that it normally carries by narrow margins, it would gain as many in states that it normally loses by similar margins. In other words, its electoral vote would simply be a more accurate reflection of its popular vote. And if the minorities referred to by Mr. Gossett should in fact lose a tactical advantage—a point we believe he exaggerates for his own purposes—it is one well lost in a democracy, where no group is entitled to swing a greater weight than it is entitled to by virtue of its numbers. Liberals can neither overlook this principle nor for short-range tactical reasons oppose a reform they have long espoused without needlessly opening themselves to the charge of hypocrisy.

A Democratic Triumph

BY STAVROS STAGOS

Athens, March 10 (by cable)

GREECE was in grand form on March 5, General Election Day, as it had been during the campaign. It is true that there was some unchecked roughhousing in the country districts by remnants of the right-wing terrorist groups, who silenced Democratic Front canvassers and forced people to vote for reactionary candidates. But broadly speaking, the voting was free, with a conspicuously pro-democratic and anti-reactionary turnout. The swing has been incontestably centerward.

The total number of voters was 1,469,356 out of roughly 1,900,000 persons registered; in the 1946 general election 1,121,000 persons voted out of 2,211,797 registered. It is worthy of note that the abstentions in 1946 amounted to 46 per cent, whereas last week they did not exceed 22 per cent; the average percentage of abstentions in Greek elections has been 35 per cent. One should also note the grotesque difference in the registration figures for 1946 and 1950 and the 44 per cent increase in voters this year. The center parties captured about 50 per cent of the votes cast, which with the addition of those received by the leftist Democratic Front makes the total progressive vote over 61 per cent. This was in striking contrast to 1946, when Tsaldaris's Populists and their cohorts got 64 per cent of the total.

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Even in the notorious reformatory school at Makronissos, where former members of guerrilla bands, political suspects, and social misfits are crowded together on a small barren island for "reeducation," some ten thousand men voted center and left—despite the possibility of reprisals from their reactionary wardens: about 25 per cent were for Plastiras, 20 per cent for the Liberals, and 35 per cent for the Democratic Front. The army also gave a sizable majority to the center parties and the Democratic Front.

When you learn that the survivors of the fascist party of the late Dictator Metaxas got only 7.5 per cent of the total vote and the new, totalitarian-tinted Markezinis group only 2.4 per cent, you have a complete picture of the democratic triumph.

The Greek electorate has shown wonderful political maturity. It was not misled by stunts and concentrated its interest on the main issues. Chary about believing extravagant promises, the people were well aware that what they wanted was the restoration of political and human rights, economic and social recovery, a moral purge, national reconstruction, and peace. Campaigning was quiet, despite the moody, temperamental nature of the Greeks. Mass-meeting audiences followed the orators with thoughtful attention. Even people who had belonged to the National Resistance (E. A. M.), so vocal in the past, controlled their emotions and trooped soberly to the polls.

The victors are Plastiras and the Democratic Front. Plastiras, famous for his heroic leadership of the anti-monarchist uprising after the Asia Minor disaster in 1922, knifed the Liberal Party, to which he had belonged, and started his "movement"—he calls his political effort a "movement," not a party—as a drive to purge the government of corrupt politicians, to restore civil liberties, to grant an amnesty to political offenders, to hasten reconstruction and national recovery. He wooed adherents of the E. A. M. but made no appreciable headway among them. Nevertheless, his buoyancy and courage proved tremendously effective in furthering a shift toward the center.

The brainy, suave Professor Svolos and the sturdy, fiery Tsirimokos, leaders of the Socialist Party—officially indorsed by Comisco (the Socialist International)—took the initiative in forming the Democratic Front with its moderate Socialist platform. They were joined by former Foreign Minister J. A. Sofianopoulos and the National Resistance groups. The Front did marvelously well, winning in all the big towns and thereby proving that the formerly Communist-controlled E. A. M. supporters had completely disobeyed broadcasts from beyond the iron curtain instructing them not to vote for the Socialists.

Communism in the Caribbean?

BY ELLIS OGLE

GUATEMALA is a pleated little country which, if it could be ironed flat, would be about three times as broad as it is. An airplane, southbound from Mexico, crosses it in less than an hour. Its volcanos rise 14,000 feet from the sea, and have been erupting since pre-Maya days. Its mountainsides are forever slipping into the deep valleys, and its people—including the purest and most colorful Indians north of the Amazon—are also volcanic and eruptive. They probably staged revolutions in pre-Columbian days; they punctuated 300 years of Spanish rule with revolutions; and the 130 years of the republic have been a gorgeous succession of revolutions and dictatorships.

American business men, ignorant of history and accustomed to a simple equation of the words "revolution" and "communism," call the present government of Guatemala "Communist." A recent series of articles by Fitzhugh Turner in the New York *Herald Tribune*, headlined and front-paged under the Hearstian headline, "Communism in the Caribbean," echoed the fears and suspicions of the gringo business men and of the business-man United States Ambassador, Richard C. Patterson, Jr. A few grizzled old-timers who remember that there was a Mexican revolution before Lenin achieved fame shrug their shoulders and say, "Same old story." They are wiser than their eager-beaver juniors.

Ambassador Patterson served in Yugoslavia before Guatemala, in the days when Tito was a devout Stalinist, and the experience may have conditioned him. The State Department replaced him in Belgrade with a suave career diplomat, and it seems possible that Patterson's eager table-thumping is not the most effective type of diplomacy in a touchy and revolutionary little country like Guatemala. Certainly it would help to have an ambassador who spoke Spanish, or was capable of analyzing and understanding a Latin-type revolution.

Guatemala has troubles. Its government is a noisy labor government, proudly tracing its descent from the "Revolution of October 20, 1944," which put an end to the open dictatorship of Strong Man Ubico and his

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appointed heir. (Ubico was regarded by American business men as an efficient ruler, friendly to business development, which he was, and by Guatemalans of all classes as a tyrant, which was equally true.) The first act of the new government was to pass a labor code patterned after that of the more gently revolutionary land of Costa Rica. This code, with its provisions for labor courts, full pay during "legal strikes," sick leave, and generous severance pay, would, it is true, give apoplexy to most North American industrialists. By comparison the late Wagner act was sheer fascist reaction. The code includes a neat provision imposing a distinct, and higher, scale of wages and other benefits for employees of corporations hiring more than 500 workers—which means the United Fruit Company of Boston and nobody else.

This is, of course, deliberate discrimination against the biggest and best-operated firm in Guatemala, which already paid the highest wages and provided the best schools, hospitals, and houses in the republic. The Fruit Company, although wounded by such ingratitude, can take it, but it is unlikely to invest further in its Guatemalan enterprises until assured of more friendship.

Enmity toward the *Frutera* is an old story; it dates back to the old buccaneering days when able white men came down to the tropics, established their customary color lines, made big money out of unexploited jungle lands, and squeezed lesser competitors. Today, when good banana culture requires spraying against the sigatoka leaf disease and flood-fouling against the Panama root disease, the *Frutera* actually supports minor competitors who could not exist without its aid. But hostility to it persists. Its establishments are visibly different from, and more prosperous than, most native enterprises; it looks foreign and rich, as it is. Attack upon it is accordingly the stock in trade of demagogues in half a dozen Latin republics.

Next to the Fruit Company, the allied railroad and the electric-power company bear the brunt of attack in Guatemala, with the Pan-American Airways, Allen Hoover's mines, and the tourist hotels proving occasional foci for abuse. During the period of the Central American Olympics, the hotel workers' trade union forced the hotels to raise their wage scales "as much as 100 per cent." But the well-advertised 100 per cent raise applied to employees previously earning $25 a month or less.

GUATEMALA will this year have a "free election," and presidential election campaigns are notoriously turbulent periods in Latin American as in other republics. Throughout the campaign, it is safe to say, attacks upon the evils of foreign capital will persist—the foreigners have no votes in Guatemala. The government party's electoral manifesto denounces "imperialism" in general, and the *Frutera* and the *Empresa Electrica* in particular, with manly eloquence, and until a new President is elected, the foreign firms are likely to face a continual barrage of criticism—and of demands for wage increases, which hurt even more. The labor courts will continue to render flagrantly one-sided decisions, and complaints to the schoolteacher-President, José Arevalo, will have small effect.

Colonel Arbenz, a semi-military man with a neurotic face who is perhaps more of an intellectual than the civilian Arevalo, is the government candidate to succeed Arevalo. If the election goes peacefully, he will probably be elected. He may or may not succeed in taking office. Conservative Guatemalan circles, tired of their Labor regime, freely predict "trouble" as soon as the revenue-earning Olympics are past. Americans in Guatemala, who credit Arbenz with the bumping-off of his more conservative colleague, Araña, last autumn, shudder and declare that he is a "horrible" man. Cynics recall that most of the dictators in Guatemalan history originally took office as leftist "murderers," were "horrible men," and eventually came to terms with foreign business interests. The chief new factor in the situation is that today, for the first time in its history, Guatemala has a real, politically conscious, and rambunctious labor movement.

That there are true Communists at work in Guatemala is inevitable. That they find fertile soil for exploitation in the feudal conditions of Guatemalan labor is equally obvious. That they have significant influence upon the government, or even upon the amoeboid process of continuous revolution in which Guatemala has been indulging for centuries, has yet to be proved. Observers at the recent convention of the P. A. R., the government "Party of Revolutionary Action," sensed rather the atmosphere of an early Rivera fresco than that of a Madison Square Garden Communist meeting. Phrases touching "agrarian reform" were hotly applauded; references to "American imperialism" passed in silence. (The *mozos* know that American employers generally pay better than native.) The only near-Communist phrase which was greeted with spontaneous applause referred to "the expulsion of the foreign oppressor from the soil of China."

Guatemala, which never before had party conventions attended by barefoot Indians and straw-hatted city workers, is obviously, like the rest of the Latin world, in a process of revolutionary change, and feels a certain sympathy for any revolution, anywhere. Equally obvious, to anyone with a shred of historical perspective, is the significant parallel with Mexico, 1910-30. The headline "Communism in the Caribbean," apropos of Guatemala, was yellow journalism, unworthy of a newspaper with the record and ideals of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

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France, Germany, and the Saar

BY TERENCE PRITTIE

Saarbrücken, March 4

THE first question I asked Johannes Hoffmann, Premier of the Saar territory, was answered in a firm negative. "The 1947 vote to ratify the Saar Statute," he said, "was not a 'stomach vote.' It represented the will of the people." Herr Hoffmann himself looks much more than well-nourished. "A stomach vote?" he repeated. "On the contrary, we voted for a common-sense agreement with France."

In 1947 France gave the Saar, already detached from the rest of Germany, a degree of self-government which was set out in the Saar Statute. When the Saarlanders held their elections they were well aware of the near-starvation in Germany and of an Allied dismantling program which was just swinging into full action. Herr Hoffmann led the Christian Party, which in a predominantly Catholic state could be expected to obtain a safe majority. He had, moreover, an understanding with the next largest party, the Socialists, who were still strong in this overwhelmingly industrialized area. The elections gave the Christians twenty-eight seats, the Socialists seventeen. Three went to independents and two to the Communists. Only the Communists were pledged to oppose French plans.

The Saar Parliament ratified the statute. The Saar was united to France by a customs union and in consequence has only one customs barrier—against western Germany. The French High Commission, which was continued as a supervisory body, encouraged liberal trade relations with Luxembourg, Switzerland, and the rest of the world. The Saar government was given two years to prove its desire for firm friendship with France.

This week in Paris it was announced that the next stage in the Saar's history had been reached. The little territory, about the size of Rhode Island, was to be granted a larger amount of self-government. In accordance with a series of agreements signed by France and the Saar, it is now to have complete legislative and administrative autonomy, though it will remain economically attached to France and be represented in foreign affairs by the French Foreign Ministry. In return France is to receive a lease on the operation of the Saar coal mines for fifty years, provided this is approved by the Allies when the German peace treaty is signed. The French will also get full control of the Saar railways in order to integrate them with the French rail system. The thorny question of ownership of industries, some of which have been confiscated several times in the last ten years—by the Nazis, by the French military government in Germany, and by the French High Commission for the Saar—is left open for further negotiation.

Herr Hoffmann told me recently that these conditions were not so tough as they appeared. A French "lease" of the coal mines was a comparative term, and the profits of the mines could still be plowed back into the Saar economy. The railways might well work better when integrated with those of France—at present they are a financial liability. Determination of ownership of plants, so far as it affected ex-Nazis, was partly an Allied prerogative. It was in the French interest, Herr Hoffmann maintained, to make the Saar state viable if it is to be a resilient buffer between France and Germany.

In West Germany, however, the new treaty unloosed a political hurricane, with repercussions in London, Washington, and Moscow. Right, left, and center parties voiced violent objections. Actually the main concern of Germans with the Saar should be economic, for the political future of the territory cannot be settled prior to the signing of a peace treaty. But when they saw the French after the war gaining such advantages in an area which is German in speech, thought, and history, they demanded a plebiscite to decide the future of the territory. In support of their position the Germans recall the 1935 plebiscite, when 92 per cent of the Saar opted for reunion with Germany. They point out that in 1947 the French arbitrarily added parts of the German Rhineland to the Saar in order to give the area a larger hinterland and a more balanced economy. They remind the world that Premier Hoffmann and almost all his ministers are returned émigrés with dual French and Saar nationality. They accuse Hoffmann of exiling five hundred families, some of them ex-Nazis but many merely democratic opponents of French policy; a few of the latter have, admittedly, been allowed to return. Great emphasis is laid on the Germanism of the Saar population, and a plebiscite to register this fact is asked for even though the result is not implemented until the German peace treaty has been signed.

With regard to the 1935 plebiscite Herr Hoffmann's Minister of Education, Straus, declares that it was a gigantic hoax. More than 100,000 people, he says, applauded vigorously at an "autonomy" demonstration on the Wartburg only the day before thousands of Nazis flocked across the frontier "disguised as tourists." More limited in imagination, Herr Hoffmann insists that the

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Nazis influenced the plebiscite by offering full employment and a "greater life in a greater Reich."

French annexation of the Upper Moselle valley is shrugged away by the Saar government. As to the ministers being émigrés, to have fled from the Nazis is a mark of spiritual independence in the Saar, and dual nationality is legal and surely not dishonorable. The exiling of "subversive elements" in 1947 can also be justified. Of the people's Germanism: "Of course we are Germans in language and race," said Herr Straus; "so are Austrians."

GERMAN economic arguments are less easily answered. The aim of the French in the Saar has been to foster independent thinking and "national" consciousness. French economic policy has concentrated on three objectives—high production and effective marketing of coal (on which the Saar is entirely dependent), integration of the Saar and French railways, the divorcing of industry and commerce from German connections which could in time exercise an indirect political influence. The French have been discreet and thorough. On January 1, 1948, they set up a French-dominated Régie des Mines de la Sarre to replace the earlier Property Control Administration. The Régie has raised production to the pre-war average. It distributes the coal, in four roughly equal parts, to home industries, France, Germany, and other countries.

Initially France benefited from access to the Saar's coal. Now the boot is on the other foot. Western Europe is nearing a coal glut which can put 40,000 Saar miners out of work—the whole working population is 300,000—and paralyze the economy of the territory. Russia has almost closed its doors to German exports, which means that coal from the Ruhr may have to be sent to the south German markets where the Saar usually sells its coal. In view of this threat the French have guaranteed to treat Saar coal on exactly the same footing as French coal. This is Herr Hoffmann's biggest success.

The director, secretary-general, and four departmental heads of the Saar railroads are all Frenchmen. The roads, however, continue to lose money, and for a very good reason. All the long stretches run from the industrial region in the south to the now extended northern frontier with Germany, but this frontier is as dead as that of the Russian zone, and most trains are empty.

The French have reorganized banking and insurance. They dissolved the German Reichsbank. The franc is now the sole valid currency. Insurance is in the hands of French companies, and French managements have been installed in a number of important industries. Such wide French control is a new factor in the Saar problem; in 1935 it was restricted to the coal mines.

So far the French have not touched on the question of ownership of the mines, though they have admitted that the railways belong to the people and state of the Saar. France owned the mines from 1920 to 1935 but allowed them to be bought back by the German government after the plebiscite. The sum was fixed at 900,000,000 marks, and 856,000,000 was paid. The agreement laid down that the remainder should be paid in the form of coal deliveries, but France refused to accept Saar coal up to the outbreak of war. This fact stands present French claims in good stead. The High Commissioner told me that France has "a legal as well as a moral right to the mines."

The French, as they often state, understand the art of occupation, and nowhere has this been better demonstrated than in the Saar. The High Commission has a staff of only 300 and is reducing it still further. The French garrison is a single battalion—one soldier to a thousand inhabitants as opposed to one to a hundred and fifty in the British zone of Germany. The French right to veto legislation is seldom exercised. There are

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-six Years Ago in "The Nation"

IN ENGLAND the Socialists [of Ramsay MacDonald] have won without a bloody revolution; in Russia they triumphed through a bloody revolution. The English example demonstrates that [Lenin's] were not the only right methods; and that bolshevism is not the only Marxianism must be clear to anyone familiar with Marx and Engels. In the revolutionary glow of 1848 Marx was for revolution, even for bloody revolution. But later he accepted parliamentarianism, revolution by the ballot, as the chief and decisive method of socialism. . . . In England the maturer, Socialist, more Marxist Marx has won. . . . England's example will strengthen the conviction of people who think politically, that bloody revolution is an outworn method. Bloodless revolution (not only parliamentary, but also literary, etc.) is the modern method. Without a revolution in heads and hearts a political and social revolution is only skin-deep. . . . It is not necessary to say that there must never be a bloody revolution; but it should be emphasized that it is justified only after every other attempt at reform has failed. And it needs preparation: a revolution without preliminary reform movements is unjustified, a mere act of violence, like an unjustified war. . . . The Russian revolution has not achieved what Lenin expected, precisely because it was not sufficiently reformist. We shall wait to see what the English revolution achieves.—*From an article by* THOMAS G. MASARYK *in the Prague newspaper* Przitomnost, *reprinted in* The Nation *of April 2, 1924, and reprinted here once again on the occasion of last week's centenary celebration of the founder and first President of the Czechoslovak Republic.*

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no anti-French slogans on the walls; only one minor "incident" has occurred in five years of occupation.

Whatever the impulse within Germany for a "home to the Reich" movement, there is a fair measure of prosperity and contentment in the Saar. Shops are full. There is no rationing of food, clothes, or gasoline. Prices are in general lower than in Germany. There are only 7,000 unemployed, or 1 per cent of the population. There are no strikes. Last year's budget was balanced, and the housing shortage—the big towns were badly blitzed in 1944—should be almost eliminated in five years' time. In Germany it will last for fifty years. There are no refugees.

THE man in the street does not think politically. In 1947 the French gave him a special issue of food before the plebiscite—hence the charge of a stomach vote. But without that the Saarlanders would have known on which side their bread was buttered. Just as they opted once for a strong Germany, this time they chose autonomy under the protection of a strong France. Given the chance, they would vote for Germany again—provided the Germans were in a position either to threaten or to guarantee their existence. Nowhere did I hear an expression of real attachment to Germany. The Saarlander wants to be left alone; his is the common sense of the purely self-interested. The only two foci of Germanic patriotism in the Saar are the Catholic church, which is still bound to the Bishopric of German Trier, and the Football Association, which has refused to join a French league.

Officially the Communist Party demands reunion with Germany. Actually one of its two deputies in Parliament now votes steadily with the government coalition and the other is permanently "ill"—either unable or unwilling to toe the party line. The Communist vote has sunk to under 7 per cent of the electorate. The main trade-union body is not connected with its German counterpart, and the Christian unions restrict themselves entirely to labor matters.

Is, then, the French plan for the Saar—politically independent, economically a French colony—a feasible one? An autonomous Saar can become a stable entity only if three conditions are fulfilled. The government must maintain its appeal as a good provider. The Saar's economic assets must be handed back to the Saar state. Peaceful independence must be guaranteed either by France or, better still, by international agreement. Possibly, too, the French could be induced to place the Saar's industries under international control. The Saar would be a better guinea pig for this experiment than the Ruhr.

The alternative is clear. The people are already crying out for German products, and Saar merchants spoke feelingly to me of the advantages of German automobiles, furniture, and medical supplies. Germanism is overbearing as well as enduring, and the urge to expand will suggest itself to a West German population swelled by 10,000,000 refugees. The German Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, did not initiate the recent "Saar crisis"; he gave most unwilling expression to the surging feelings of his party and people. The Saar will only survive if it is given a square deal and if the European idea grows faster than the old German land hunger and contempt for the democratic rights of smaller neighbors.

Duplessis Takes a Chance

BY MILLER STEWART

Quebec, March 9

MAURICE DUPLESSIS, Prime Minister of Quebec, is in the news again, this time with that standby of the demagogue, a bill to legalize lotteries. Since lotteries are banned in Canada, the bill, which will probably be presented next week, will take the form of instructions to the provincial Attorney General—who else but Maurice Duplessis?—to refrain from prosecuting offenders. Mr. Duplessis knows very well that previous attempts to do the same thing—by Premier Taschereau of Quebec in 1935 and Attorney General Conant of Ontario in 1939—failed. He himself has a majority of eighty-two to eight in the Quebec house, so his bill will pass that body with ease, but it will undoubtedly be defeated in the upper chamber or thrown out by the courts.

Mr. Duplessis cannot count upon much popular support for his bill, for the French Canadian is probably the world's least enthusiastic gambler—he would want odds of two to one that the sun will rise again. Why, then, is the "incredible Maurice" pressing it so assiduously in the face of certain defeat? First, because the proceeds of the legalized lotteries would be used for hospitals and other socially desirable purposes. As a staunch tory Duplessis feels that social services are a debilitating attack on free enterprise, but by urging this measure he can seem to be trying to do something for the people and at the same time embarrass the federal government. He can also say that if he hadn't been stopped he could have sold most of the lottery

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tickets in New England and got the Yankees to support Quebec hospitals as they now support those of Eire.

If the federal authorities followed United States practice and denied the use of the postal service to the lottery, he could turn it into a vendor lottery. Such lotteries always sell best in metropolitan areas. The Mexican national lottery, for instance, sells in Mexico City in an amount equal to $14 per person, as against 25 cents per person in the rest of Mexico. Duplessis' support in Montreal and Quebec has always been pretty slim, but this does not matter too much electorally since he has the province so gerrymandered that these cities, with 48 per cent of the population, elect only 15 per cent of the deputies. Of course the cities carry most of the tax load, and to have them carry the hospitals too would be just perfect, particularly as most of the English live in the cities. Maurice's *habitant* supporters would love that.

Secondly, a controversial measure of this kind would provide a valuable smoke screen for several awkward situations. One is the terrific loss of prestige suffered by the Union Nationale, the party that is Duplessis, as a result of his disastrous alliance with George Drew and the Progressive Conservative Party in the Canadian general election of 1949. Their joint campaign in Quebec was probably the most expensive electoral effort in Canada's history, and yet they won only two out of ninety-three seats in the federal Parliament. For a party that holds eighty-two out of ninety provincial seats this takes some explanation. The fact is that Duplessis' overwhelming majority in the provincial Parliament was won with little more than 51 per cent of the popular vote. The disabilities of the urban voter account for much of the discrepancy. Most Quebec city dwellers are renters and move every year while the *habitant* remains fixed. Duplessis therefore had a bill passed denying the franchise to anyone who had not lived two years at his present address; to make assurance doubly sure he exempted small towns, villages, and rural areas from its provisions!

For another thing, Duplessis is likely to get but lukewarm opposition to his bill from the Roman Catholic clergy, who have been with him in all his victories and against him in all his defeats. St. Bingo is still the patron saint of many a Quebec parish.

French Canada's position on moral matters of this kind is not always consistent. It is likely to swing from the strictest puritanism on one subject to a good-natured tolerance of the frailties of the flesh on another. Duplessis' attitude has been similarly variable. He has haled young ladies into court for wearing shorts or bathing costumes that would have occasioned no more than a mild whistle on any beach in the United States. At the same time he has substantially increased the number of liquor licenses in Quebec—although it must be granted that the new licenses are equipped with "built in" shakedown clauses—and he has discouraged the police from too zealous prosecution of "entertainment" facilities. This is not confused thinking but a deliberate playing off of the devout against the sporting element—a much more profitable political maneuver than sitting on the fence.

AGITATION for a lottery is a strategic move at this time because the question has received little attention since the depression. While there are plenty of people violently pro and con, the average citizen has not made up his mind on the matter yet. The arguments of the opponents of the scheme are chiefly (1) that lotteries increase the tendency to gamble and discourage thrift; (2) that they are essentially anti-social taxation of the poor, who buy most of the tickets; (3) that they reduce purchasing power and encourage escapist day-dreaming. Since the majority of buyers of tickets do so with some understanding that they are exchanging their money for a very slight chance of winning a very large prize, since rich Australians and poor Mexicans seem to be equally addicted to this form of gambling, and since the points about day-dreaming and purchasing power are pretty feeble, the verdict must be "not proven."

On the other hand, those who favor lotteries seem to do so for predominantly opportunistic reasons. (1) Foreign lotteries take millions out of the country; why not keep this money at home? (2) The Stock Exchange and the commodity markets are legal; why discriminate against lotteries? (3) People are going to gamble anyhow; why not cash in on this universal trait? These arguments are as easy to refute as those of the antis. There is no reason to believe that Canadians would stop spending money on foreign lotteries if they had sweepstakes of their own. Experience, knowledge, and judgment can greatly reduce the hazards of the markets. The addition of a philanthropic purpose does not alter the hazards of gambling.

The common-sense view of lotteries seems to be that as a means of raising money for social services they are wasteful, expensive, and undependable. In the vast majority of cases lotteries are an attempt to get outsiders to finance something we ought to pay for ourselves. Most civilized nations have at one time or another tried lotteries and then banned them. It might be interesting to have a trial lottery with no pretense of aiding good works, with the profits going into the general funds, and with the number who lost as widely publicized as the winners. After a few years a referendum, without any attempt to influence people by pious platitudes or worn-out clichés, could decide the issue. That is not likely to happen, but it is fairly certain that Canada will be bombarded with these platitudes from all over the United States once Mr. Duplessis presents his bill.

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Del Vayo—The Tide Turns

FOR a brief moment the Greek elections have pushed greater international problems into the background. To many the results came as a surprise. People had heard too often—as in the case of Spain—the clichés about a weary people, broken by hunger and terror, unable to challenge the reactionary clique which, in addition to being already in power and having at its command the instruments of repression available to a government of its type, could draw freely on its American checking account.

The answer given at the polls on Sunday, March 5, was an indication of the great vitality of the people. Against the grim background of widows in mourning, of soldiers wounded and disabled in the recent struggles, the people fought for their parties with that intense enthusiasm for politics which is so characteristic of the Greeks. The women still have not the right to vote, but they took a vigorous part in the campaign. Although martial law had been abolished two years ago and on the whole the campaign was free from coercion, in certain remote localities government pressure was exercised.

But nothing could keep the people from expressing their will. The most important result is the smashing of the parties which favored a disguised dictatorship. First among the leading figures who suffered defeat was Markezinis, political adviser to the King, who was to have been the *éminence grise* of Papagos, providing the general with the brain power he so unhappily lacks. Markezinis, a dissident member of the Tsaldaris party and actually a political enemy of Tsaldaris, had peddled the idea of a Papagos dictatorship under the guise of a "parliamentary" regime. His maneuvering has now been brought to nothing. But Tsaldaris himself, although he won a slight margin over Plastiras, can hardly be asked to form a government, since he lost 50 per cent of his previous vote. The extreme rightist elements no longer control the Parliament; among the defeated reactionaries the followers of former dictator Metaxas were fortunately included.

The composition of the new Parliament will not permit government by one or two parties. It is likely that the new Cabinet will represent a combination of several parties, dominated by Plastiras, Venizelos, and Papandreou; in any case, it will be a far more liberal regime than Greece has known for several years past. Even a combination of this type will have to take into account the popular support received by the forces still farther to the left, the Democratic Front with its leaders—Sofianopoulos, Svolos, and Gregoriades. This new grouping showed its strength in the three most important cities of Greece—Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika—and this fact is in itself of great political significance.

For Sofianopoulos the election certainly was not a surprise. When I saw him in Paris last summer he said: "Either the elections will be a fraud, or they will be genuine; in the latter case the trend to the left as a demonstration of the will of the people is assured." He expressed the same idea in Athens two days after the election; although it was too early to analyze the figures in detail, he emphasized the real significance of the event—the general trend of the voting.

Sofianopoulos and I agreed in regarding Greece and Spain as very similar cases. In both countries the people had taken up arms against fascism, and when a struggle of such dimensions has been fought, no amount of internal or foreign pressure can wipe out the impulse of resistance. We also agreed that a break in the rising reactionary wave in Europe, occurring in either Greece or Spain, or preferably in both, would have effects extending far beyond the national frontiers. What has just taken place in Greece will, I am certain, confirm this view and provide a partial answer to those who have criticized as nothing but wishful thinking my recent articles on the possibility of a "come-back of the left."

Plastiras, who as I write seems the most likely Premier, has refused to lump together all members of the Communist-led civil-war bands as outlaws. He wants an amnesty for all but the "criminals" among them, and he favors a large program of social reform. In foreign policy Plastiras will inevitably take his lead from the West, but he is expected to follow a more independent and conciliatory line. His post-election statement that he wants to be the "first friend" of Israel in the eastern Mediterranean is a sign of his intention to regain freedom of action for Greece.

What is really fantastic is the assumption that a few reactionary governments in Europe, financed from Washington, can solve the economic and social conflict which has been developing for more than a hundred years; that a hundred years of Socialist thought and action will evaporate overnight. The influence of the Greek elections on the rest of Europe will be very great. Just as there is something contagious about fascist successes, as the decade of the thirties proved, so each revival of the left encourages the left forces in other countries. And the process of change within a single country is in turn accelerated or held back by the over-all situation.

If the United States had maintained a clear and consistent policy of supporting democratic movements instead of courting the favor of a Tsaldaris or a Franco, and if today it were taking the initiative in the questions of disarmament and atomic agreement, it might claim credit for what has just happened in Greece. Since it has not done so, the extreme left can use for its own advantage this popular reaction against the corrupt oligarchy defended and subsidized by the Western powers.

The left can capitalize, first, on the opposition of the people to a return of the rule of big business, with its financial policy of hostility to the granting of higher salaries to the workers, and, secondly, on the anti-clerical feeling which is still very strong in Europe; but most of all it can capitalize on the determination of the people to survive and on their horror of another war. Reaction still dominates European politics, but Greece is an indication that it may not do so indefinitely.

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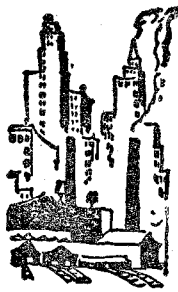

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

E. R. P. and E. P. U.

ON OCTOBER 31 last Paul Hoffman, E. C. A. Administrator, made a speech to the Council of the Marshall Plan Nations the tenor of which was, "Integrate—or else." Asking for immediate positive steps in the direction of a free unified market in Western Europe, he intimated that failure to move rapidly toward this goal might mean a sharp reduction in E. R. P. appropriations.

In a comment on this speech on November 12, 1949, I stressed some of the difficulties of integrating the economies of sixteen sovereign nations at very different stages of political, social, and economic development. Mr. Hoffman, I wrote, was undoubtedly aware of these difficulties and would be satisfied by evidence of fairly modest progress in lowering the barriers to inter-European trade. But, I added, "there is danger that his too forceful language may lead Congress to expect something much more dramatic."

Recent hearings in Washington on the E. R. P. appropriation for the next fiscal year have suggested that these fears were not unjustified. There are definite indications that some Congressmen, who are in any case opposed to the program, will seize on the alleged lag in "integration" as an excuse to vote against the appropriation of further funds or to reduce them drastically. Others—for instance, Representative Richards of South Carolina—are demanding that pending legislation should be equipped with "teeth" which will nip the Western Europeans if they do not move faster. Faced by such demands Mr. Hoffman is now deploring the use of "shotgun methods" and urging the greater efficacy of persuasion, but he still seems to me to be encouraging Congress to expect the impossible. Thus speaking of the prime objective—"the creation of a single market in Europe" —he told the legislators that "the O. E. E. C. countries will need to accomplish within the next twenty-five months . . . what would normally take twenty-five years."

There are, as the *New Statesman and Nation* pointed out on February 25, two major obstacles to so rapid a realization of Mr. Hoffman's objective. First, an effective unified European market would have to embrace the agricultural-surplus countries, now cloistered behind the iron curtain, as well as the industrialized Western states. Second, "countries cannot unify their currencies and permit complete freedom of trade within their united borders . . . unless they have also established a common political government authorized by their peoples to follow a common policy in taxation, in the regulation of markets, in wage policies, and in a host of other matters." When we recall that the Western European nations have no common tongue and vary widely in their social structures, living standards, fiscal systems, and standards of administrative efficiency, we dare not pitch our hopes for their early union too high.

This does not mean that nothing can be done to lower barriers impeding the exchange of goods and services in Europe. One move recently made is the reduction by O. E. E. C. nations of quantitative restrictions on many imports. Most states now allow at least 50 per cent of their imports on private accounts to enter on unrestricted licenses, and new relaxations of quotas are promised. Further progress in this field, however, may depend on creation of a European Payments Union (E. P. U.)—a project which is preoccupying both the E. C. A. and the O. E. E. C. at the present time.

The E. P. U. would be, in effect, an exchange clearing house. It would provide a pool of currencies, supplied by countries in a creditor position on current account, which could be drawn upon up to stated limits by those in a debtor position. As envisaged by the E. C. A., it would enable nations exporting more goods and services than they imported to obtain part of their credit balances in dollars. Member states with chronic deficits, on the other hand, would be required to liquidate them partially by depositing dollars or gold. Since the E. P. U. in its early stages would probably be called upon to pay out more dollars than it received, the E. C. A. proposes to earmark $600,000,000 of next year's E. R. P. appropriation to provide it with the necessary reserves.

All O. E. E. C. members agree in principle on the need for an E. P. U., but there are sharp and important differences of opinion about the mode of operations favored by the E. C. A. The British government, in particular, has stressed the difficulty of segregating sterling earned in current inter-European trade from that outstanding as the result of past and present sterling-area transactions. It fears that the E. C. A. plan would make the convertibility of E. P. U. credits too easy and so induce holders of sterling, including those operating in the black market, to pass it through the Fund, with the result that scanty British dollar reserves would become unduly depleted. Consequently the British authorities insist that any plan adopted must give them the kind of control over the total of sterling drafts presented for payment that they now exercise by means of bilateral trade agreements.

Possibly these British fears are exaggerated, but there is, I believe, a real danger that the E. C. A. plan would stimulate a competitive scramble for dollars to the detriment of inter-European trade. It might easily induce some countries to block imports from their neighbors in order to build up E. P. U. credits, a proportion of which could be liquidated in dollars. Of course, abolition of quantitative restrictions—an essential preliminary step to the institution of an E. P. U.—would check such tactics. But it would also leave high-tariff countries like France in a more favorable position to choke off imports than those with low tariffs.

Again, some countries in their eagerness to obtain dollars might resort to otherwise unnecessarily strong deflationary measures calculated to create unemployment, depress living standards, and reduce the demand for imported goods. Thus unless the E. P. U. project is very carefully worked out and, perhaps, provided with powers to penalize persistent creditors as well as persistent debtors, it could turn out to be an instrument for diminishing the total volume of inter-European trade rather than for increasing it.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

What Happened in Britain

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF BRITISH CAPITALISM. By Keith Hutchison. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

BRITISH capitalism may have gone by the board or entered a slow metamorphosis during the past seventy years, but the positive constructive process—and the central theme of this book—has been the development of British socialism. Moreover, what happened in Britain was only a local variety of the collectivism to be seen everywhere in the world that industrialism has made. Perhaps the publishers of this book believed that the negative title, emphasizing grandeur in decay, would attract conservative as well as radical American readers. It is to be hoped so, for, conceding all that necessarily differentiates British from American development, Mr. Hutchison's well-informed explanation of what has recently happened in the first industrialized society should command the interest of all kinds of people in the presently most productive one.

How, in a purely expository sense, are you going to explain it? The complexity of the internal and external circumstances has been so great that the mere technique of giving it shape and clarity demands high art. Mr. Hutchison displays that art in a close-knit study of international as well as British "political economy." His fast-moving, fairly brief account has little or no room for the history of ideas; he merely assumes the revolution in communications effected by the modern newspaper, the radio, and television; and he fails to probe Labor's political education in its own unions and in its Trades Union Congress. None the less, he is remarkably successful in first identifying and then amalgamating the most potent economic and political factors in the unique evolution of economic democracy in Great Britain. Since he has a good eye for apt illustrative evidence in actions, words, and statistics, and a good wit for summary epigram, his essentially sober and rather dispassionate commentary is almost never dull. One result of his being forced by his materials into a double structure of topical and chronological chapters is a little awkwardness in allocating—and sometimes repeating—the historical elements at work.

In a logical sense, Mr. Hutchison's explanation pretty well boils down to the intricate interaction of three forces: the achievement of political, and increasing economic, democracy unhampered by a written constitution; the loss of an immense competitive advantage in production and foreign commerce as free trade wilted before protectionism and the superior resources of others; and the expenditure of accumulated capital in two wars for survival. The usual query about all this is: did the unrestrained democracy pull down the economy by its prolongation of free trade and its insistence on "fair shares" through expensive social services, or did the externally and internally determined decline of the economy evoke the demand that a diminishing national income be distributed so as to prevent any substantial part of the population from falling below a determined minimum? Mr. Hutchison is not to be drawn into that silly deterministic trap, for his pluralism embraces the permutations and combinations of many forces tributary to the interaction of the major three. For one thing, he believes in the influence of individuals—an anachronistic Salisbury or Snowden, a surprising Campbell-Bannerman or Bevin, a temporizing Balfour or Asquith, a demagogic Lloyd George or MacDonald, a foundation-building Churchill or Henderson.

Yet his persons and his political parties find themselves, historically, contributing to the overriding growth of socialism, sometimes by conviction, sometimes as "ransom," sometimes by inertia, and sometimes by provoking sharp responses through their unimaginativeness or deception. Toryism has shown itself to be notably friendly to planning for at least a century and a quarter. Great Britain has been under Tory governments—or Tory-dominated coalitions—for most of the past seventy years. What more natural than that Tories have created somewhat more British socialism than Labor, and that the Liberals faded out thirty-five years ago when Britain's circumstances first seemed to dictate the necessity of over-all planning? What more natural than that Mr. Hutchison acknowledges Winston Churchill, the "Tory democrat," heir of Randolph and of Disraeli before him, as the principal historian of the period covered in this book?

Good as it is, Mr. Hutchison's book seems open to some general suggestions. In particular, he seems unaware of the immense amount of debate and experiment that went on from 1776 to 1850 and consequently of how far back reached the vigorous roots of some of the developments he detects as having originated after 1870. Greater deliberation would perhaps have suggested that the national economic controls of 1914-19 must have had a more abiding effect than their abrupt abandonment seemed to indicate. Britain's omission of a capital-gains provision from the income tax has recently allowed some enormous fortunes to be made by lively, enterprising men, starting from next to nothing, in spite of "the decline and fall of British capitalism"—Lord Nuffield, Bernard Westall (of Thomas de la Rue), William E. Butlin, Jack A. Billmeir (of Stanhope Steamship Company), Lord McGowan and his partners (of Imperial Chemicals), John E. James (of Lancashire Steel), Sir Ellis Hunter (of Dorman, Long), and many others. Even when the state becomes the capitalist, it treats its managers very generously by British standards, generously even by American, as some discussion of the British public corporation might well have shown. Now that Great Britain is so substantially increasing production, and the electorate is so evenly divided, perhaps British capitalism and British socialism are breaking out from old chrysalises into new forms. The over-all will to recover is manifest. The balance between democratic and paternalistic socialism is about even. And if the past is good

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evidence, this preeminently political people is as capable of invention as of compromise. J. B. BREBNER

Ruskin: Splendors and Miseries

JOHN RUSKIN: THE PORTRAIT OF A PROPHET. By Peter Quennell. The Viking Press. $3.75.

IF THE Victorian Age was almost unrivaled in the rank and honor it lavished upon its heroes and law-givers, it was equally ruthless in the retribution it exacted as its price of fame. When Ruskin, approaching seventy, sat down to write his autobiographical "Praeterita," he felt an emotion, a doubt, that assailed many of his great contemporaries—Mill, Carlyle, Tennyson, Eliot among them—particularly when, like him, they had once stormed their time with gospels, manifestoes, accusations, writs of error or prophecy. What had he accomplished? Echo answered a mournful "Nothing—almost nothing." For a moment his fifty years of furious labor and zealotry on behalf of art and society seemed like ashes in his hands. Had he truly served humanity? Or had he been denied the power and the need to love? Whose fault was it? Gazing deep into the well of his past, searching for answers yet avoiding their painful sources in the history of his heart and mind, he felt, before sickness and derangement closed down on him and forced him to abandon his inquisition, that the true answer must be in himself. "As I look deeper into the mirror," he confessed, "I find myself a more curious person than I had thought." But he never fully faced the spectral image in the glass: when he died at Coniston his secret remained unconfessed, perhaps finally unrecognized.

Thus he became for a new century a figure of perplexity and evasions. The piety of disciples like Collingwood, Cook, and Wedderburn kept him muffled in the dubious mantle of the prophet. All that had made him a pillar of Victorian taste and morality during his lifetime made him anathema to aesthetes and modern moralists after it. All that made him a firebrand of social challenge and justice to contemporary agitators and reformers—a writer of basic scriptures for English socialism, a political radical who corrected for Jevons and Shaw the rigidities of the Marxist theory of value, an accusing voice whose "Unto This Last" and "Fors Clavigera" scathed the materialism of his age—made him inadequate to later economic scientists and doctrinaires. A new age found him, as Shaw admitted his fellow-Victorians found him, "incredible," and the greater bulk of his work impenetrable. Every recent student who has tackled the thirty-nine huge volumes of the Library Edition has begun by admitting that they form a "monster," a "dense jungle," a "tangled and incoherent wilderness" fit to discourage the most dedicated explorer.

Deep in the wilderness of his words, the "curious person" himself became lost, submerged by official respect, conventional opinion, indifference, hostility, neglect. If among modern readers Proust could salute him as his "artist-saint" and *"esprit intercesseur,"* if Shaw could accept him as a spiritual ancestor and explain on the centenary of 1919 that Ruskin had really "*meant* what he was saying, and indeed shouting," the generation of Roger Fry persisted in hotly repudiating "that old fraud Ruskin" as the perpetrator of an "incalculable wreckage" of taste and misguided art, and the political radical found him easy to bypass in favor of the mightier godhead of Marx.

How, then, recover a serious modern interest in Ruskin's career and the purposes that shaped it? Obviously by the one infallible modern method—an investigation of his nature and character as a man. Henry Ladd did not employ that method when he wrote his admirable, exhaustive, but rather baffled analysis in "The Victorian Morality of Art" in 1932; but when R. H. Wilenski produced his "John Ruskin: An Introduction to Further Study of His Work" in 1933, he thrust boldly through the obscuring legend. The results were startling. He presented a Ruskin whose incoherence and contradictions could be explained only in terms of a profound instability of temperament, an intelligence twisted and deformed by parental perversion and misguidance, a mind veering between reckless euphoria and shattering mental insecurity, a magnificent spirit preyed upon by all the fears, obsessions, and exalted visions endemic to his age. Even Wilenski,

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however, lacked certain essential facts and clues. These were not forthcoming until Admiral William James published "The Order of Release" in 1947 (issued here by Scribner's as "John Ruskin and Effie Gray"), in which the ugly truth about Ruskin's queerly plotted, unconsummated, wretchedly defended, finally annulled marriage to the future wife of his friend John Everett Millais came to light in a book of appalling family documents, and Derrick Leon followed it this year with a heavily documented if critically undistinguished biography, which has not yet appeared in America.

To these books Mr. Quennell's present biography acts as a pendant, an interim report on Ruskin's tragedy and literary rehabilitation. This provides no original research. It ripples the smooth and urbane manner of Mr. Quennell's prose over Ruskin's harassed efforts to realize himself as a man, a thinker, and a reformer. Its theme is admitted as "vast." It makes no attempt to analyze or reduce to order the immense writings. It holds, rather evasively, that the light shed by the new biographical discoveries "is necessarily partial," arguing that the "sociological explanation" of Ruskin's case "proves, in the last resort, as unconvincing as the Freudian." It leaves us, at the end, "face to face with the mystery of an individual character, separate, lonely, passionately self-absorbed, perpetually at war with a world that did not welcome it"; a man "profoundly unhappy" because he found "no refuge from a mysterious sense of guilt and no means of establishing a truce between antagonistic private impulses"; a "teacher who could not be taught" and whose fate would "at no time have been easy" but whose plight in that age of humanitarian vision at grips with a predatory materialism, of "romantic optimism" at war with "economic fatalism," of what Clough called an "over-excitation of the religious sense" that induced an "irrational, almost animal irritability of consciences," was bound to end in grief and profound misgiving.

That the fate was tragic is unmistakable. The elder Ruskins emerge as moral and emotional tyrants fit for the gallery of Dickens, Butler, and Shaw. The escape of Effie Gray from their sinister intrigue to the gallant arms of her lover comes like a release from the darkest dungeons of Victorian thraldom, and Ruskin's aborted passions for Adèle Domecq and Rose La Touche only serve as corroborating evidence. And there is no slighting the fact that Ruskin himself owned a nature whose great generosity, humanity, social and aesthetic passions were riddled—as he himself dimly recognized before the end—by an imperious egotism, self-indulgence, sexual confusion, and intellectual prejudice that could be maniacal in their workings.

It was not only love which these brought him to miss. He missed equally the serious developments in art in his age, a genuine faith in human progress, a suspicion of the sinister reaction at the root of the gospel he took over from Carlyle, a basic confidence in moral truth, a clear sense of what the future held in store for his inheritors. But if tragedy is the right word for his fate, it must be allowed its dignity, its moral nobility, as well as its sordidness and humiliations. His life, conditioned by "the growing wealth and rapidly deepening squalor of mid-Victorian England," shows the distresses of its age but also the age's passion: what an English critic, Frank Chapman, has called its redeeming greatness, "its solidity and its sureness of what it really valued," a sureness that persisted behind all its confusions and defeats. If Ruskin is now to be seen as one of that age's victims, he shares with certain others—Dickens, Mill, Eliot, Hardy—the stature of rising, at his greatest, above the compromising ethos of his century and of reaching a vision of beauty and justice that saved him from the state of mind which, for his more—and less—fortunate contemporaries, made tragedy impossible.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Burnham on the Cold War

THE COMING DEFEAT OF COMMUNISM. By James Burnham. The John Day Company. $3.50.

MR. BURNHAM brings to the study of politics a new sort of brain, and its impact is at the same time stimulating and a little frightening. It is the brain of a natural technician, or mechanic, with a confusing touch of the inventor, swift, incisive, intolerant, and wonderfully limited. Given a practical problem, Mr. Burnham can be trusted to see straight through to the heart of the matter, reduce it to essentials, and suggest a solution. It is done with a sort of rampaging brilliance that leaves the onlooker breathless and amazed at the simplicity of life in the hands of a genius. But, alas, the problem solved, the genius moves on to the next, leaving us to try in vain to fit a streamlined, precision-made gadget into the ramshackle fabric of a life that is neither streamlined nor precision-made.

The trouble is, I suppose, that he is not really interested in life as it is lived: he is out to get results. Only in this way can I explain the vast blank unawareness of everything which happens to be outside the dazzling field of his searchlight as it comes to rest upon one after another of our inadequacies and follies (he calls them American follies; but, let an Englishman assure him, they are really human). And with this unawareness there goes a deep, disturbing lack of curiosity.

This lack of curiosity is reflected even in the title of his new book, which is really not about communism at all but about Russian imperialism, which happens to be using the idea of communism as a stalking horse. Communism is also a thing in itself. But Mr. Burnham ignores it. He does not even ask what it is; and he calls Titoism a defeat for communism, meaning Russian imperialism. He does not ask what that is either.

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The fundamental weakness of the man who is superbly good at seeing what is wrong but who rarely thinks to ask why it is wrong comes out in the opening chapter. Here Mr. Burnham beautifully demonstrates his belief that we live in a catastrophic age. Arguing that the totalitarian movements, above all communism, "have accepted the catastrophic point of view," he contrasts the way in which they treat crises as the norm—fomenting them and exploiting them—with the way of the woolly-minded democracies which continue to regard all crises as "abnormal exceptions to the flow of history." Here the statement of fact is fair and finely elaborated. But the statement of the cause of the fact is as wrong as can be. It is wrong, for example, to say that the Communists have "accepted" the catastrophic point of view, as though this were something with an independent existence, and with the implication that they are creatures of our time, whereas we ourselves are not. For what the totalitarians have done is to *impose* the catastrophic point of view upon a desperately resisting mankind. There is a great difference in emphasis here, and Mr. Burnham's interpretation exalts an elementary empiricism into a principle of action which, followed logically, must itself end in the totalitarian attitude.

The same sort of thing happens when he writes of American policy. Nobody could be a more trenchant and lucid guide to the glaring inadequacies of this policy vis-à-vis the Russians—its lack of unification, its narrowness of front, its paralyzing defensiveness, its innocence of any defined objective beyond the negative one of containment. But because Mr. Burnham stops at diagnosis and never inquires into causes, treating every failure as a simple lapse from the ideal of total efficiency, we are led imperceptibly to one unstated and sinister conclusion. Very well, then—American policy is inadequate; Soviet policy is not inadequate. And so?

Again, more personally because I speak as an Englishman and a European, Mr. Burnham's very searching examination into the weakness of Europe as an ally in the great struggle—he is kind to England, incidentally, but cruelly uncomprehending toward France—which questions things we take too easily for granted, is vitiated for me because of his almost crass preoccupation with face values. A statistical fact to Mr. Burnham is what the primrose was to Peter Bell. And so the way contemporary problems look to a European is ignored entirely.

All this, it may be felt, is unfair to Mr. Burnham. And in a sense it is. But I think it had to be said. Mr. Burnham's magnificent gifts need no advertisement from me. And once immersed in him it is hard not to be carried away by his address. Stimulated by his vitality, ravished by his marksmanship, humbled by his clarity of vision we most of us should be. But we must not be carried away, because the deep flowing current of this argument, unknown I think even to Mr. Burnham, who is thus himself being carried away, springs from a love affair with historical necessity, a valuable if treacherous servant but the worst of tyrants as a mistress.

To come up for air, the book is broadly speaking divided into two. The central theme of the first part is that in thinking in terms of the absolute opposition of war and peace we are rushing to our doom; further, that the dichotomy between cold war and shooting war is misleading and false. To crown an argument finely conducted and studded with a host of apposite illustrations from the life, Mr. Burnham ends on the paradox that present United States policy is militaristic, precisely because, instead of realizing that "the D-Day of the Third World War is an event not of the future but of the past," instead of fighting and winning that war by the sort of means now being employed by the Kremlin, we expend all our energies on preparing for a total war which need never come if we take the offensive now in the veiled war which exists. This argument is supported by cogent and urgent analyses of the Communist conception of diplomacy and war. Anyone in doubt as to the real nature of the present struggle will here find his thought clarified as never before.

The second part, beginning with an able survey of the weaknesses of "the Communist empire"—incidentally, it flatly contradicts a good deal of what has gone before—is devoted to the first comprehensive attempt to lay down the outline of a successful offensive to break the power of the Kremlin without total war. It rages headlong through considerations of propaganda, war in the labor movement, the "cultivation of political friends," alliance with refugees and exiles, the possibilities of resistance warfare and political subversive warfare. And it includes, for full measure, the draft terms of the only sort of deal with Soviet Russia which Mr. Burnham thinks we should contemplate—which amount really to a full-scale act of armistice. Needless to say, these chapters fairly bristle with ideas, and the courage of Mr. Burnham in leading with his chin when nobody else has yet dared to creep out of his corner not only excuses but also explains some of the shortcomings of his mentality.

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and I hope in America too, are concluding with Mr. Burnham that the time has come to pass from the defensive—for example, the Berlin airlift—to the offensive. But it is no good expecting governments to act in an offensive spirit until the enlightened public is clearly aware of the issues, is prepared to risk possible consequences, and, above all, feels that there is a chance of success. The particular value of this book, and one which outweighs much really dangerous oversimplification is that it gives the public its chance. EDWARD CRANKSHAW

Concerning Education

THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN. By Horace M. Kallen. Farrar, Straus and Company. $5.

THIS wise and often witty book, written by a leader in cooperative, trade-union, and adult education, bravely tackles a range of hotly controversial subjects, from the function of education in an industrial society to why progressively educated little dears can't spell simple English words. The latter question can start more fights than any philosophical speculations about the chief end of education. Dr. Kallen marshals some surveys showing that students in the progressive schools are no worse spellers than those in the conservative—which is just the point old-fashioned parents are making. In all sorts of schools spelling seems to be regarded as no more important than finger painting. So you have theme papers written under the influence of the style of Truman Capote and the spelling of Artemus Ward. The idea seems to be that you can always get a stenographer or a proofreader to fix up the spelling, and look at George Washington who couldn't spell either.

Whether discussing spelling or the meaning of a liberal education, Dr. Kallen knows how to hold his reader's interest in what H. G. Wells prophetically called "the race between education and chaos." He pokes fun at the educator's jargon known as "pedagese," though sometimes his own style, once called "Kallenese" by an irreverent student, makes the going difficult. His central theme, however, presents no more of a difficulty than the translation of "E Pluribus Unum." From the diversities of cultures in our civilization there must come through continuous intercommunication an equal union for free cooperation, "one for all and all for one," if democracy is to survive. "In the history of free societies," concludes Dr. Kallen, "this way of going together comes about in the form of the consensus of the diverse concerning their ever-diversifying function." "Diversity," "process," "continuity," and always and always "together"—these are key words in the Kallen philosophy of education for freedom.

Kallen takes his stand with Dewey and Thorndike—and before them, Jefferson, Horace Mann, and the educational reformers of the Middle Years. He attacks the Great Books program as an appeal to static tradition, "revealed authority." He indicts the attempts of the Catholics and other sectarians to impose their indoctrination on the public-school system and fully documents his indictment.

His plea for universal military service, however, is mainly confined to rhetoric. It will take more than the speech of Pericles, ghost-written by Thucydides, to persuade anyone who has seen the R. O. T. C. in action that, as Dr. Kallen puts it, "military education and liberal education must be members of one another, and both be directed to the works and ways of freedom, by freedom for freedom as the greatest good of the diverse and diversifying peoples of the world." Even from a historical point of view the Periclean idea that free men make better soldiers than serfs do was destroyed by the victory of totalitarian Sparta over democratic Athens. The author lumps communism with Catholicism, but Franco is in and the Loyalists are out, and what about the heroic defenders of Stalingrad? Dr. Kallen needs to go no farther on his own Manhattan isle than Columbia University for an example of what happens when a military person gets tangled up with education. In his brief career as absentee president of Columbia, General Eisenhower has achieved the miracle of making Nicholas Murray Butler look like a stalwart liberal. It may be necessary to teach our youngsters how to use flame-throwers and chuck bombs around, but let's not confuse our unhappy conscripts by dragging in Pericles' Funeral Oration or quoting Jefferson's remarks about an armed citizenry, as does Dr. Kallen. There are certain things in this world of diversities which cannot be "orchestrated," to use another favorite word of the author, by the sweetest instruments of education. Chief among them are democracy and military training. It is Dr. Kallen's contention, of course, that they "must" be, not that they are. But let him tell that to the marines.

Dr. Kallen is a busy man. His latest book follows on the heels of the publication of his collected essays last fall, under the title, "The Liberal Spirit" (a publication of the New School for Social Research, Cornell University Press, $3). There is one labor which I fear will be mainly for love, but certainly not lost, to which the author of two such provocative books should be at once conscripted. Brother Kallen knows from painful personal experience how workers' education in this country is perishing, not from lack of funds but from lack of vision. He "must" now write a history of education in this country, starting with the contributions

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of the yeomen of Massachusetts to the free fellowships at Harvard, going on through the all-important part played by the trade unions of the age of Jackson in securing free public schools, and ending with Brookwood Labor College in our times. Since the closing of Brookwood, the educational programs of even the most progressive of our unions have mainly consisted in courses on the vocational training of shop stewards or the teaching of hillbilly folk dances to city factory workers. Let him, from his abundant personal knowledge of the subject, provide harassed educational directors and their bored rank and file with a sense of what true workers' education might be like, and we will forgive him his infantile playing with soldiers, and rise once more and call him blessed.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE course of the intermission interview following the New York Philharmonic broadcast of his new symphony, "The Age of Anxiety," Leonard Bernstein described the conflict which goes on in the life of someone who is both a composer and a conductor. The composer, he said, is an introverted person with a strong inner life; the conductor a performer always dealing with various large groups of people, and thus leading a mostly external life. I found it difficult to imagine the composer of the work I had just heard as an introverted person with a strong inner life; like his other works it had given me the impression of the composer in Mr. Bernstein being as much an extrovert as the conductor; and it seemed to me that composer and conductor had the same fault—a lack of inner discipline. The Philharmonic performance of "The Age of Anxiety" and the one later in the same day in connection with Jerome Robbins's new ballet—given by the New York City Ballet Company—confirmed for me some of the observations of Virgil Thomson based on greater knowledge of the work from a reading as well as a hearing of the score: that the expressive content was banal and derivative in feeling, the form improvisatory, the contrapuntal tension weak. And it seemed to me that even the poor quality of the musical ideas, and certainly the sprawling form, were the result of a lack of discipline which left the creative process one of everything going out with nothing held back.

The Robbins "Age of Anxiety" was more impressive, at least in part. It is again a ballet about lonely people—four this time, as against "Facsimile's" three; and much of the Martha-Graham-esque movement in which they define their loneliness is again like an exhibition of personal privacies that one is embarrassed to look at. But this time the four get involved with a lot of other people; and it is in some of these episodes that Robbins's powers of observation and imaginative invention achieve exciting images and large-scale orchestrations of movement. One of these is the frenetic close of the first part; but the best, I think, is the Masque in which the four "attempt to become or to appear carefree"—an episode danced to what I think is also the best music of Bernstein's score, the section of piano jazz (with percussion). It is another example of what happens when Robbins's sharp eye and satiric sense concern themselves with American lowbrow dancing; and it makes one wish that if he feels that as a serious artist he must deal with serious subjects he would deal with them in comedy, of which he is so brilliant a master. Oliver Smith's scenery, finally, seems to me the finest he has done.

Another new ballet presented by the New York City Company, Frederick Ashton's "Illuminations," is an extraordinarily beautiful work of his distinguished art—an art as masterfully sure in touch in the delicate and subtle details as in the powerful ones. It is helped in achieving the fantastic atmosphere of the piece by the scenery and costumes of Cecil Beaton; Britten's music for the Rimbaud words I am—at this moment several days after the one performance I saw—unable to recall anything about.

In contrast with these two works, which were handsomely mounted and danced with precision, Balanchine's "The Prodigal Son" was given with insufficient preparation which blurred its powerful dramatic images, and with some indeterminate makeshift scenery and sleazy costumes as the disturbingly inadequate replacements for the magnificent Rouault scenery and costumes of the original 1929 Diaghilev production now in the possession of De Basil. In addition, even make-up wasn't used as it might have been: nothing was done with Robbins of the kind that was done with Tallchief, or that was done with Lifar in the 1929 photograph I have before me—with the result that this was a ballet about a clean-cut American boy in fancy dress who gets involved in some peculiar goings-on.

Letters to the Editors

Professional Conspiracy

Dear Sirs: Your criticism [in *The Nation* of February 25] of the Association of Medical Colleges and of the American Medical Association [for holding down the number of admissions to medical schools] is deplorably mild. Their actions are not simply "a disregard of social needs"; they are heinously anti-social; their offenses are rank and smell to heaven. These precious gangs—for such they are—are guilty of causing untold suffering and agony. Never was there a better illustration of the famous remark: "Every profession is a conspiracy against the laity." I seem to hear the sardonic laughter of Molière, Voltaire, and Bernard Shaw.

THOMAS J. BARNUM

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 28

Impossible Alliance

Dear Sirs: The series by J. Alvarez del Vayo advocating a new Popular Front with the Communists in Western Europe [*The Nation*, January 21, February 4 and 11] runs so completely counter to current American liberal thinking that it should not pass without considerable comment. Mr. Del Vayo's sincerity and intelligence appear beyond question; but so do the sincerity and intelligence of those leftists who say exactly the opposite on the subject of cooperation with the Communists.

Most American leftists today believe the political methods and goals of the Communists so completely abhorrent that the "left" in Mr. Del Vayo's sense is an illusion, the common immediate economic programs being outweighed by the enormous conflict over political

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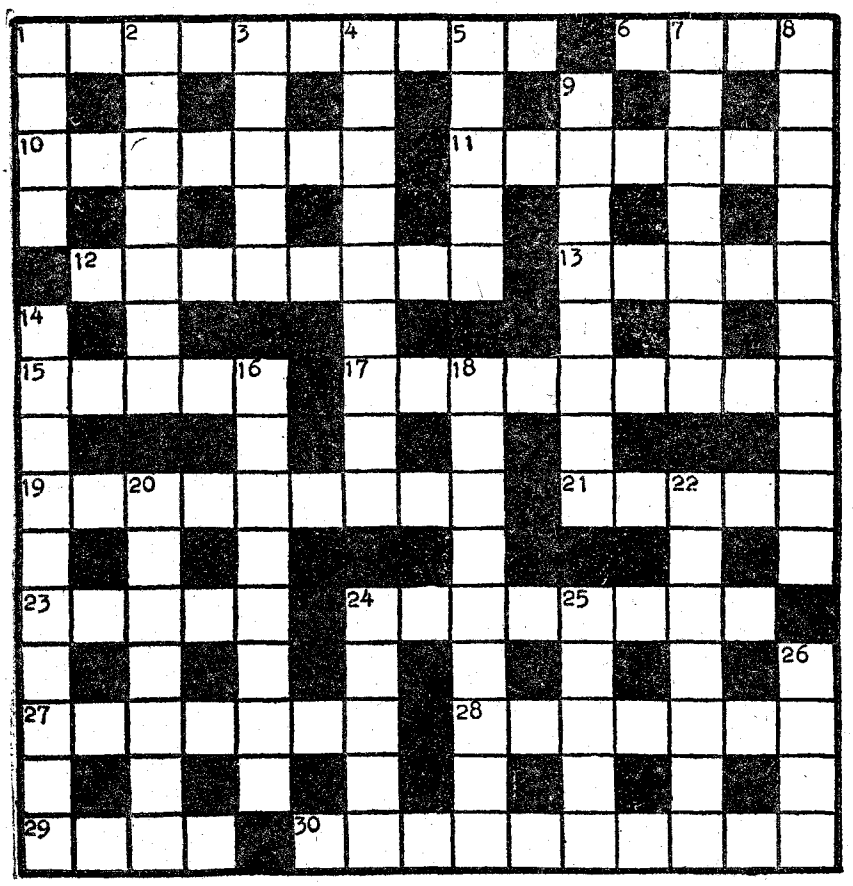
Crossword Puzzle No. 354

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Liable to attack with a rubber leg. (10)
6 Society found on quarter-deck? (4)
10 and 11. See 4 down.
12 His dread of conservatives? It's the making of them. (8)
13 How to make the lad spoon? (5)
15 Abdul was the Bulbul. (5)
17 This is best not written down! (9)
19 At the front of the palate? (9)
21 Equip. (5)
23 Speech of the modern Thief of Bagdad. (5)
24 and 9 down. Certainly not a peace-pipe! (3, 5, 2, 6)
27 See 4 down.
28 How misers sleep? (7)
29 Put in order a Latvian port. (4)
30 Big soloist, like Charles and Erasmus Darwin. (10)

DOWN

1 Proud-sounding blade. (4)
2 Foster's was evidently closed. (7)
3 This blessed plot, this, this, this realm! (5)
4, 11 across, 27 across, 10 across. Oversize Nature Magazine, compared periodically? (2, 5, 2, 4, 3, 5, 2, 7)
5 Acts as a soporific. (5)
7 The French and the German separated by an English lover. (7)
8 In politics? Strange! (10)
9 See 24 across.
14 Sis? (4, 6)
16 Servant a lawyer might welcome. (8)
18 Aluminum, first, last, and all the time! (9)
20 One R of literary prison? (7)
22 Planes Indians. (7)
24 To its composer, "Goodbye!" as a hint. (5)
25 One giant gets up with the morning to find another. (5)
26 Indigo and safranine, for example. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 353

ACROSS:—1 PRIMORDIAL; 6 and 5 HALF-A-LOAF; 10 SECONDS; 11 OPEN-AIR; 12 and 17 BUREAU OF STANDARDS; 13 ANTIC; 15 OVENS; 19 PARTRIDGE; 21 CABAL; 23 and 18 SEVEN AGES OF MAN; 24 ANOTHERS; 27 LARDERS; 28 MERMAID; 29 SASH; 30 CANNONBALL.

DOWN:—1 PAST; 2 INCLUDE; 3 OUNCE; 4 DISBURSED; 7 ADAPTER; 8 FORECASTLE; 9 HERALDIC; 14 CORPUSCLES; 16 STRANDED; 20 REVERES; 22 BARBARA; 24 AT SEA; 25 HERON; 26 IDOL.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

and social liberty. (Whether the Communist long-range economic goals are acceptable is also questionable, since they are seldom clearly stated.)

Mr. Del Vayo believes that the French Communist Party might be persuaded to abandon its demand for a monopoly of power as a condition for "cooperation" and consent to allow real independence of thought and political organization, both within the new Popular Front and the ultimate Socialist society. Most American leftists believe that absolute dictatorship is so deeply imbedded in the Communists' belief and practice that they can never be trusted with power or persuaded to "reform"; that totalitarianism has an inescapable logic which rather demands ever tighter repression than permits loosening of control; that the ideas of toleration and political liberty are so utterly dangerous to the Communist élite that no national Communist Party would be allowed to adopt them except as empty propaganda.

Mr. Del Vayo suggests that the Soviet leaders consider possible the peaceful coexistence of the Soviet system and the Western system of capitalism-restrained-by-political-democracy, referring to various statements of theirs. Most American leftists know that the Soviet leaders have also said precisely the opposite at least as often, on and off over the last thirty years and up to the present, and would hate to bet their freedom on the chance that the Soviet leaders really believe the first rather than the second set of statements.

If there is real evidence to back up Mr. Del Vayo's arguments, we should have it presented, for it would point to a "third way" for both Europe and the world. The editors of *The Nation* incur a serious obligation in printing the Del Vayo articles—an obligation either to dismiss them or to follow them up. Is Del Vayo right and the A. D. A. wrong, or vice-versa?

ALLEN H. BARTON

Laurelton, N. Y., February 20

Berlin Blunder

Dear Sirs: I wish to express my appreciation for Telford Taylor's timely and cogent review of Brigadier General Frank Howley's "Berlin Command" [in *The Nation*, February 11]. General Taylor seems to possess—as Howley does not—the rare quality of understanding an adversary that has been harassed for centuries—by tyrannical political and ecclesiastical regimes, by a fundamental revolution, by counter-

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revolution, by famine, by the *cordon sanitaire*, by sixteen years of non-recognition by the United States, by 13,000,000 military and civilian casualties in World War II, and by a war-crippled industry and a partially ruined homeland. General Taylor has clearly proved that the appointment of so "stentorian and insensitive an officer as Howley to . . . such an exposed and delicate assignment" was a major catastrophe.

R. K. DORFMAN

Philadelphia, February 24

Slam . . .

Dear Sirs: Does a review such as Rolfe Humphries's of Muriel Rukeyser's poems [*The Nation*, January 28] fulfil any of the purposes of literary criticism? "The indefatigable Miss Rukeyser has appeared lately with *two* [*sic*] volumes," he complains. It happens that the "Elegies," had Mr. Humphries taken the trouble to find out anything about his subject, were all previously published, in three volumes appearing in 1939, 1944, and 1948. Anything indefatigable about that? There's even a third volume of Miss Rukeyser's out just now, "The Life of Poetry," original and stimulating. Mr. Humphries heard about it?

But since when has it been a crime for a creative writer to work?

ELLA WINTER

New York, February 18

. . . Bang!

Dear Sirs: Miss Winter's indignation fails to meet the issue raised in my to her objectionable review, in which I pointed out that Miss Rukeyser's titles, "Elegies," and an "Orpheus," invited comparisons (with Rilke) which her product, in my opinion, did not warrant. Why, sure, it's no crime for a creative writer to work; but you know the story of the piccolo player—who called that worker a creative writer?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

New York, February 28

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